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A Bavarian-speaking Exception in Alemannic- speaking Switzerland: The Case of Samnaun

A Project Presentation

Journal Article

Susanne Oberholzer

Samnaun has been described as the only Bavarian-speaking municipality in Alemannic-speaking Switzerland on the basis of a study done in 1924. Hints in the literature about the presence of other varieties for everyday communication – an intermediate variety on the dialect-standard-axis as well as an Alemannic dialect – have not resulted in more recent research. This paper describes the research agenda of a project that aims at the description of the current range of linguistic variation in this municipality in the extreme east of Switzerland, bordering on Austria. It contains background information about Samnaun, a description of its language history, and an overview of previous linguistic descriptions of the valley. The paper also discusses the research questions and the aims of the project as well as its methodology. The project makes a contribution to the research about language contact, change in language as well as to research about language shift.

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1. Introduction¹

The municipality of Samnaun, situated in the extreme east of Switzerland, stands out from the rest of German-speaking Switzerland: Samnaun is usually described as the only place where not an Alemannic, but a Bavarian dialect is spoken (cf., e.g., Sonderegger 2003: 2839; Wiesinger 1983: 817). This claim is based on a study by Gröger (1924) and has found its way into many linguistic descriptions of (German-speaking) Switzerland. In the literature, this viewpoint has been almost unchallenged for over 90 years. Hints about the presence of other varieties (an Alemannic dialect as well as an intermediate variety on the dialect-standard-axis) from the second half of the 20th century have remained unexplored. However, as economic conditions as well as living conditions have changed a lot over the past decades and Samnaun is no longer as geographically isolated as it was in the beginning of the last century (and before), it is an open question whether the linguistic situation has changed too. Recent linguistic

¹ I would like to thank Barbara Johnstone for her help with the manuscript and Philipp Stoeckle for the creation of the maps.

data² is missing, as the study by Gröger is the only detailed linguistic description of the German dialect in Samnaun.

In this paper, I present a new research project which seeks to fill this gap. The project is dedicated to the current linguistic situation in Samnaun. Its working title is *Bairisch-alemannischer Sprachkontakt. Das Spektrum der sprachlichen Variation in Samnaun* ('Bavarian-Alemannic Language Contact. The Range of Linguistic Variation in Samnaun'). This paper describes Samnaun and summarises the available descriptions of its language situation as well as the aims, research questions, and methods of the planned project.

In section 2, I sketch the municipality of Samnaun. After giving some background information about the municipality itself – especially about the geographical and economic situation – I describe the linguistic history of the valley where Samnaun is

² The papers by Weider (2012, 2013) show in a rather impressionist and anecdotal way some linguistic phenomena of Samnaun's German. Weider does not present any linguistic data which help to answer the question about the shape of the varietal spectrum, he lists only "interessante Fälle" ('interesting cases'; my translation; Weider 2013: 417f.) or rather "eine kunterbunte Kostprobe" ('a varied sample'; my translation; Weider 2012: 165–167).

located. The focus is on the transition from a Rhaeto-Romanic-speaking to a German-speaking community. Then I summarise previous linguistic descriptions of the valley and discuss the conclusions drawn by them. Section 3 discusses the main research questions. Section 4 provides an overview of the project's methodology. I describe the methods of variationist linguistics used in previous sociolinguistic research on varieties of German that I will employ in my study. The composition of the sample of informants and the data collection protocols are also discussed. Finally, the section provides an overview of the linguistic variables to be investigated in this study. Section 5 summarises the project presentation provided in this paper and gives a broader perspective on the relevance of this project for variationist and sociolinguistic research.

2. The Location of Samnaun within Switzerland

The municipality of Samnaun, in the extreme north-east of the Swiss Canton of Grisons (cf. Figure 1), is an interesting site of language contact: After a long Rhaeto-Romanic-speaking period, language shift



Figure 1 Map of Eastern Switzerland, the Austrian Federal States Vorarlberg and Tyrol as well as Parts of Italian Southern Tyrol (Map Created by Philipp Stoeckle).

towards German took place in the 19th century. However, Samnaun's speakers did not shift to an Alemannic variety of German like other German Swiss, but to the Southern Bavarian variety of their neighbours in the

east: the inhabitants of the Austrian federal state of Tyrol. In this section, I give some background information on Samnaun and an overview of the linguistic situation there as researchers have described it in the past.

2.1 Samnaun – Geography, Economy and Language Shift

The municipality of Samnaun is situated on a valley floor in the Inn district, 1700 meters above sea level (Gemeinde Samnaun 2016c), and borders on the Austrian federal state Tyrol (cf. Figure 2). The whole region is in a certain sense a border region: The border between the Austrian federal states Vorarlberg and Tyrol is close as well as the border between Austria and Italy (autonomous province South Tyrol). The Swiss surroundings, however, are located beyond a mountain range, which is important for Samnaun's linguistic and economic history. Seen from Switzerland, Samnaun is one of the most isolated mountain municipalities in the country (cf. Carnot 1984: 45).

The municipality of Samnaun comprises five villages: Compatsch, Laret, Plan, Raveisch and Samnaun. There were 737 inhabitants at the end of 2014, 71.8 % of whom were Swiss citizens (Gemeinde Samnaun 2015). The municipality's economic life is distinguished for its large share of people working in the service sector: 93.2 % compared to the overall Swiss

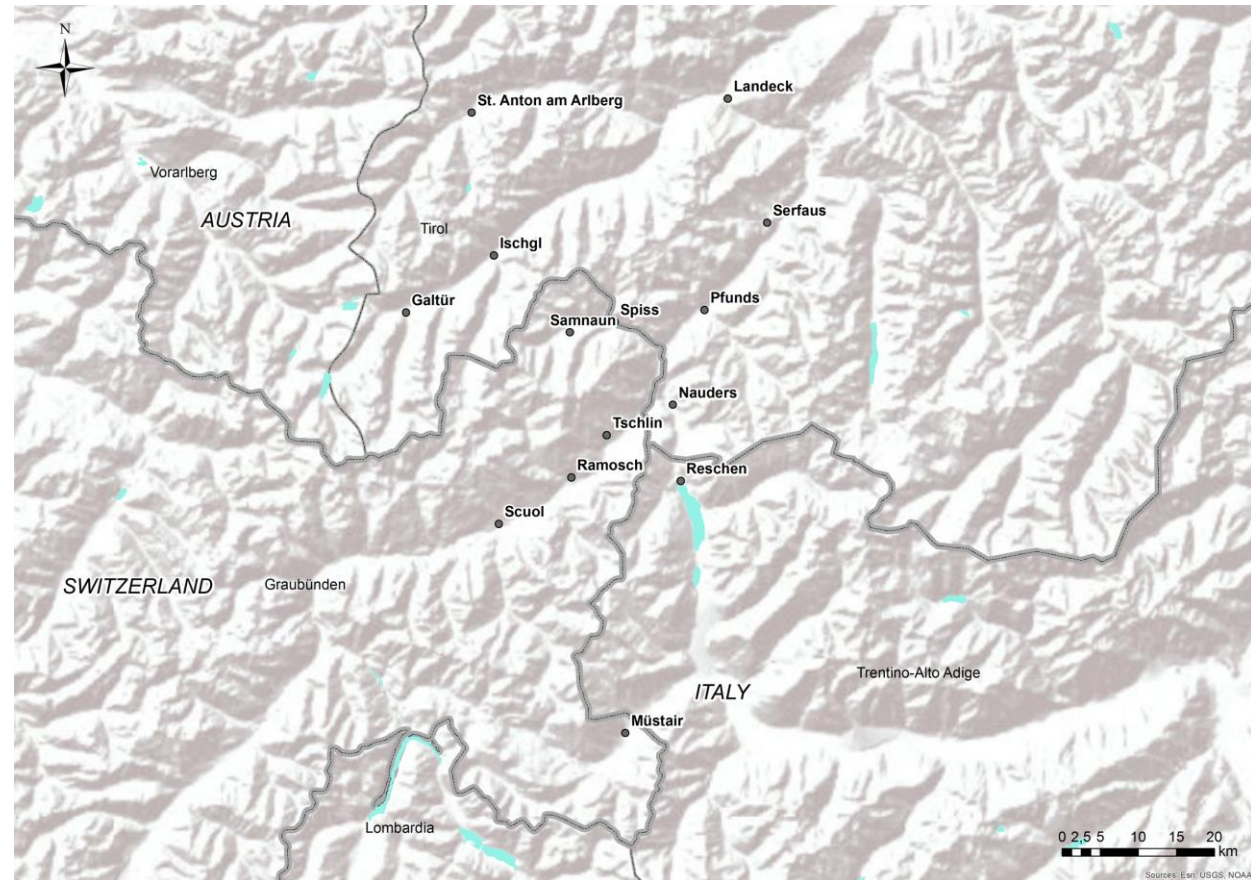


Figure 2 Map Showing the Swiss-Austrian-Italian Border Area with the Geographical Situation of Samnaun (Map Created by Philipp Stoeckle).

average of 74.4 % (Bundesamt für Statistik 2015: 3595). This is the result of the thriving tourism sector in Samnaun.

The valley was settled by people from Lower Engadine:³ Samnaun's population spoke

³ Vital (1918: 171), however, believes that Tyroleans populated the valley.

exclusively Rhaeto-Romanic for centuries (cf., e.g., Jenal-Ruffner 2009: 120). Due to its isolated situation, with no year-round road connection to the rest of Switzerland even by foot, Samnaun's people for a long time interacted mainly with Tyroleans of the neighbouring Inn Valley.⁴ These interactions were initially of an economic nature, in time also of a family nature (cf. Carnot 1984: 45). This close relationship to the Tyrolean neighbours was one of the reasons for language shift during the 19th century: The valley area was Germanised, probably after a certain phase of bilingualism (cf. Carnot 1984: 52; Gröger 1924: 105; Jenal-Ruffner 2009: 124).⁵ The maintenance of Rhaeto-Romanic was difficult for another reason, too: The valley was completely isolated from the Rhaeto-Romanic world (which was situated beyond the mountain range mentioned above). Kramer (1982: 9, 15) suggests that the necessary willpower to keep the Rhaeto-Romanic language was missing.

⁴ Engadine could only be reached on foot in summer over a mountain pass.

⁵ There were probably other reasons for language change, too, among others the employment of a Tyrolean teacher (cf. Carnot 1984: 51f.).

Language shift was complete by the early years of the 20th century. Florian Melcher and Robert von Planta succeeded in recording the Rhaeto-Romanic dialect of Samnaun at the beginning of the last century, in the years 1899–1910 (cf. Kramer 1982: 10, footnote 11; Ritter 1981: 36).⁶ Thus language shift took place later in Samnaun than in the neighbouring Austrian Federal states Tyrol and Vorarlberg (cf. Klausmann & Krefeld 1986: 122; Plangg 1993: 174). In the Engadine neighbourhood (Lower Engadine and Val Müstair), however, the Germanising process is still ongoing and Rhaeto-Romanic is still a very vital language at least in some municipalities (cf. Cumün da Val Müstair 2016; Gemeinde Valsot 2016).

As noted, isolation from the rest of Switzerland conditioned – at least partly – the language situation and language shift in Samnaun. But after centuries of isolation, the situation changed considerably in 1912 when a road that is passable all year round connecting Samnaun to Engadine was finally

⁶ Ritter (1981) analysed the phonetics and phonology of this now extinct dialect. Furthermore, the probably only audio recording of the Rhaeto-Romanic dialect was made in 1916.

opened. Due to this, economic conditions⁷ in Samnaun changed: Tourism arrived in the valley (cf. Carnot 1984: 55). This led to a change with regard to language: Contact with German Swiss people became more intense as they visited the valley as tourists. Furthermore, the emergence of radio in the 1930s (cf. Schade 2015) and of television in the end of the 1950s (cf. Ganz-Blättler & Mäusli 2015) resulted in increased exposure to Alemannic Swiss German for Samnaun's population. The impact of these factors on Samnaun's linguistic conditions – which will have changed at least the receptive knowledge of Alemannic varieties – has not been studied yet, however.

2.2 Language History and Linguistic Description of Samnaun in the 20th and the Early 21st Century

As mentioned above, several researchers describe Samnaun as the only municipality in German-speaking Switzerland where a

⁷ Due to its isolated geographical situation, Samnaun became a customs enclave in 1892 (cf. Margadant 1973; Gemeinde Samnaun 2016a) and still is one although the historical reasons for the measure (geographical isolation, no road open all year round to Switzerland, economic relations almost exclusively with Austria) do not exist any longer.

Bavarian rather than an Alemannic dialect is spoken (e.g., Sonderegger 2003: 2839). When the originally Rhaeto-Romanic-speaking municipality was Germanised during the 19th century, the people adopted the dialect of their neighbours in the Austrian federal state Tyrol in the east, which is a Southern Bavarian dialect (cf., e.g., Gröger 1924: 104f.; Ritter 1981: 24–26) and not an Alemannic dialect like that of other German-speaking Swiss.⁸ There was probably no or at least not much contact with Alemannic speakers at that time, since the Swiss surroundings were Rhaeto-Romanic-speaking and not Germanised.

Up to the present, research regarding the German dialect of Samnaun has been restricted to the Bavarian local dialect.⁹ In

⁸ The Swiss German dialects form part of Southern Alemannic. They can be assigned to *High Alemannic* (German 'Hochalemannisch') on the one hand (most dialects of northern German-speaking Switzerland) and *Highest Alemannic* (German 'Höchstalemannisch') on the other (the more archaic dialects in the southern, mostly Alpine part of German-speaking Switzerland). Cf. Sonderegger (2003: 2837f. and especially figure 190.5) for this question. Besides Samnaun, only the city dialect of Basle does not belong to Southern Alemannic (the dialect belongs to the Lower Alemannic dialect group, cf. Sonderegger 2003: 2838).

⁹ I use the term *local dialect* to refer to what Wiesinger (2010: 363) calls "Basisdialekt".

1924, Gröger carried out the only systematic analysis of this dialect, focusing on phonological and phonetic features. It is his analysis which serves as the basis for the assumption that Samnaun is still Bavarian-speaking today. Samnaun was one of the locations where data were collected for the two Austrian linguistic atlases of Vorarlberg (VALTS, Gabriel 1985–2006) and Tyrol (TSA, Klein et al. 1965–1971) as well as for the dictionary of Bavarian dialects in Austria (WBÖ, Kranzmayer et al. 1963–). These focus first and foremost on lexical and phonetic phenomena. In addition to the atlas and dictionary material, a few audio recordings of the German (Southern Bavarian) dialect were made in Samnaun by Austrian dialectologists (in the years 1916, 1926 and 1958). Swiss researchers, however, have neglected the region due to its status as a non-Alemannic speaking community. Therefore, no data were collected in Samnaun for the Swiss German dictionary (Schweizerisches Idiotikon), nor for the linguistic atlas of German-speaking Switzerland (SDS), nor for the syntactic atlas of German-speaking Switzerland (SADS).

Research on the linguistic conditions in Samnaun has been restricted mostly to the phonetic-phonological level; morphology

and syntax remain unexplored.¹⁰ Peripherally, language contact between Rhaeto-Romanic and German has been surveyed (e.g., Gröger 1924; Kramer 1982; Ritter 1981). There has not been any research about the Bavarian dialect since Gröger's study. In his classification of German dialects, Wiesinger (1983: 817) writes that Samnaun stands with the German dialects of Northern Tyrol without dealing with it in more detail. Sonderegger (2003: 2839) describes the dialect of Samnaun as "einzige nichtalem. Mundart auf dem Boden der Schweiz" ("the only non-Alemannic dialect in Switzerland"; my translation). He writes, referring to Gröger, that the originally Rhaeto-Romanic-speaking community shifted to German only in the 19th century and adopted the Southern-Bavarian-Tyrolean dialect of its northern surroundings in Austria.¹¹ Sonderegger gives religious rea-

¹⁰ There is a so-called *Wenkerbogen* for Samnaun; with this kind of questionnaire, single local dialects were surveyed between 1876 and 1887 in Germany and later on (from 1926 to 1933) also outside Germany (cf. regionalsprache.de 2016). The questionnaire focused mainly on phonetic features, but is nowadays often used for morpho-syntactical analyses (cf., e.g., Schallert 2015).

¹¹ Many of the overall descriptions of German-speaking Switzerland, also of recent date, follow

sons as well as geographical ones for the transition to the Southern Bavarian dialect: “[...] da die Samnauner ihre Frauen dann im benachbarten katholischen Tirol (Inntal, Paznauntal) holten, deren tirolischer Dialekt bis heute maßgeblich blieb”¹² (Sonderegger 2004: 3360).¹³

While Sonderegger proceeded on the assumption that the Southern Bavarian Dialect remained “maßgeblich” (“significant”; my translation) in the year 2004, other sources show that there are at least two other varieties playing a certain role in Samnaun. As the linguistic situation in the Bavarian-speaking part of Austria¹⁴ is usually described as a dialect-standard-continuum (cf., e.g., Ammon 2003: 164; Ammon et al. 2004: XXXVI), it is not surprising to find indicators of the existence of

an intermediate variety (‘Umgangssprache’) in Bavarian-speaking Samnaun.¹⁵ The Austrian researchers Hornung and Kranz-mayer made a recording in Samnaun in 1958 and described the variety in the written recording report (for the Phonogrammarchiv Vienna) as “etwas verkehrssprachlich” (“a little colloquial”; my translation). Besides this, there seems to be another variety available for oral communication in Samnaun: Gabriel (1985: 47) claimed that the colloquial language used with non-locals is Swiss German, while the Tyrolean local dialect has been displaced to the most intimate sphere. The question of which variety Samnaun’s people use is also addressed on the municipality’s own website (Gemeinde Samnaun 2016b):

Immer wieder werden wir mit der Frage konfrontiert, weshalb wir in Gesellschaft “Anderssprachiger” uns nicht unseres Dialektes bedienen. [...] Die Samnauner

sprechen Samnaunderdeutsch nur mit ihresgleichen oder Menschen, die schon lange im Tale sind und den Dialekt auch vorbehaltlos verstehen.¹⁶

2.3 Interim Summary: One or Two Language Shifts in the Past Two Centuries?

To sum up, after the language shift from Rhaeto-Romanic to German, important extralinguistic changes took place in the beginning of the 20th century – the opening of a year-round road to the rest of Switzerland, the emergence of television and other media, the emergence of tourism – that possibly resulted in linguistic developments. As the only study on Samnaun’s language is from 1924, only a short time after the road opening and before the beginning of broadcasting, we know nothing about the results of these changes. Most subsequent researchers have followed Gröger (1924) in assessing the local dialect

this statement (e.g. Christen 2005: 22; Haas 2000: 59; Siebenhaar & Wyler 1997: 30).

¹² “As the male population of Samnaun went to the neighbouring Catholic Tyrol (Inn Valley, Paznaun Valley) for their wives, whose Tyrolean dialect has remained significant until today” (my translation).

¹³ The Reformation reached Engadine in the 1550s (cf. Rüegger 2006), but Samnaun stayed Roman-Catholic (cf. Gemeinde Samnaun 2016d).

¹⁴ The Alemannic-speaking Austrian federal state Vorarlberg, however, has traditionally been described as a diglossic area. Cf. Ender & Kaiser (2014) as well as Kaiser & Ender (2015) for the question if this opinion is justified.

¹⁵ The situation in the rest of German-speaking Switzerland is different: it is usually described as *diglossia* where there are no intermediate varieties between the two poles dialect and Standard German (cf., e.g., Sieber 2010; for a detailed discussion about the two possible models to describe the language situation – *diglossia* on the one hand and *bilingualism* on the other – cf. Oberholzer 2015: 50–72).

¹⁶ “Again and again we are confronted with the question why we do not make use of our dialect when speaking to people speaking a different language. [...] Samnaun’s people speak Samnaun’s German only with people of their own kind or persons who have been in the valley for a long time and understand the dialect easily.” (my translation)

of Samnaun as a Southern Bavarian variety. Nevertheless, not unexpectedly, there are hints of an intermediate variety or rather a possible Alemannic colloquial variety, but these hints have not been followed up.

Laypeople describe these changes in language (use), however. The municipality states on its web page that inhabitants do not use the dialect with people who speak a different language/dialect (cf. Gemeinde Samnaun 2016b). The question arises: Which variety do they speak, then? Jenal-Ruffner (2009: 125), in his description of daily routine in Samnaun, states that there have been developments in Samnaun's language in the past years, due to tourism and immigration that have affected the dialect strongly, according to Jenal-Ruffner: "Vermischungs- und Verwässerungsprozesse" ("mixing and dilution processes"; my translation) have taken place.

Samnaun underwent a language shift from a Romance to a Germanic language in the 19th century. The question is: Has it undergone a second language shift from a Bavarian-speaking community to an Alemannic-speaking one in the 20th century, or is this process maybe currently ongoing? This research project aims to answer this

question, along with others that I present in the following section.

3. Research Questions

The research project presented in this paper aims to fill the gap outlined in the previous section by describing what the range of linguistic variation in Samnaun looks like today. In particular, my research questions are these:

- How is the vertical range of variation structured? Which German varieties do the autochthonous people in Samnaun have at their disposal?
- Is there a dialect-standard-continuum, or are there clearly distinguished varieties between dialect and Standard German?
- Is the local dialect still a clearly Southern Bavarian variety or is it evolving towards an Alemannic variety due to contact with Alemannic-speaking tourists and/or the consumption of national Swiss German media?
- If there is still a Southern Bavarian local dialect, is it used mainly by the older generation? And is it possible to observe a change in apparent time, with a ten-

dency towards the loss of the Southern Bavarian local dialect and the spread of Alemannic features within the dialect?

- Are there differences between the range of variation of younger speakers in manual professions (with little contact with tourists) and those in communication oriented professions (with much contact with tourists)?
- Do Samnaun people use Swiss Standard German or Austrian Standard German? Is the Bavarian local dialect roofed (cf. Ammon 2004 for the term) by Swiss Standard German, thus forming a complementary case to the Austrian federal state Vorarlberg's Alemannic dialects, which are roofed by Austrian Standard German (cf. Ender & Kaiser 2014: 132)?

As noted below (section 4.4), the focus will be on the phonological, morpho-syntactical and lexical levels.

4. Methods

The project requires field research. In this section, I discuss the methods I will use to collect data and how my sample of informants will be constructed.

4.1 Modern Methods of Variationist Linguistics

In the German-speaking language area, research on a range of variation can be done in parts of Germany and in greater parts of Austria, where a dialect-standard-continuum exists. As for German-speaking Switzerland (apart from Samnaun?), no intermediate variety between the poles dialect and standard variety exists (cf. footnote 15), so there is no such research.

While empirical research in Austria on the range of linguistic variation has only just started,¹⁷ research in Germany on this topic is well advanced. The work of Lenz (2003), Lameli (2004) and Kehrein (2012), as well as various studies resulting from the long-term project “Regionalsprache.de” (REDE; Regional Language in Germany) at the Forschungszentrum Deutscher Sprachatlas in Marburg and the project “Sprachvariation

in Norddeutschland” (SiN; Language Variation in Northern Germany) at the universities of Frankfurt (Oder), Kiel, Hamburg, Münster, Bielefeld and Potsdam are dedicated to the investigation of vertical variation. The main focus of these studies is on so-called “Regionalsprache” (“regional language”; my translation), which comprises the “Sprechlagen” (“varieties and speech levels”; my translation) ‘below’ the standard variety (cf. Ganswindt et al. 2015: 426). Researchers control the linguistic behaviour of their informants (two or three generations compared with each other) by setting up different data collection situations in order to evoke different varieties or speech levels. As a rule, these situations are a conversation among friends, an interview, and dialect and standard competency tests (cf., e.g., Kehrein 2012: 75f.; Lenz 2003: 65). This methodology has proven to be effective at obtaining data that varies on the dialect-standard-axis (cf., e.g., Kehrein 2012: 343). The classification of varieties and speech levels¹⁸ occurs as a rule on the basis of the

analysis of phonetic-phonological¹⁹ variables (mostly in combination with assessments of dialect degree as well as hearer evaluations) in association with a cluster analysis. This way, for instance Lenz (2003; 2010: 302, Fig. 17.4) established five speech levels or rather concentration zones (Regional Accent, Upper Regional Nonstandard, Lower Regional Nonstandard, Regional Dialect and Base Dialect) and two varieties (regiolect and dialect) for the region of Wittlich (Rhineland-Palatinate).

Thus, I can avail myself of a proven set of methods and analytical models for analysing vertical variation. Slight adaptations may turn out to be necessary due to the current language situation. In addition, I plan to extend the analysis beyond the phonetic-phonological level. It is an open question to what extent the results regarding the number of varieties and speech levels from Germany can be applied to an area where the local dialect probably plays a far greater role, as in the Bavarian-speaking area. At this point, I assume that I

¹⁷ This research is part of the Special Research Programme “German in Austria (Deutsch in Österreich – DiÖ). Variation – Contact – Perception” started in January 2016 at the universities of Vienna, Salzburg and Graz as well as at the Österreichische Akademie für Wissenschaften, cf. <http://dioe.at/teilprojekte/pp03-sprachrepertoires-und-variationsspektren/pp03-speech-repertoires-and-varietal-spectra/>.

¹⁸ Lenz prefers the term “Verdichtungsbereiche” – in English: “concentration zones” (cf. Lenz 2010: 303).

¹⁹ Kallenborn (in prep.) does the first analysis on the basis of syntactic variables for the Moselle Franconian area.

will find several varieties (and not primarily speech levels).

4.2 Choice of Informants

I will make audio recordings of language production data by autochthonous speakers from Samnaun. As is usual in variationist linguistics, I will investigate change in apparent time by comparing an older and a younger speaker group. For this purpose, some researchers compare two ‘extreme groups’ of dialect speakers (cf., e.g., the pilot study for the project SynBai, Lenz et al. 2014), namely the “potentiell ‘konservativste’ Typ eines älteren, nur wenig mobilen Dialektsprechers” (“the potentially ‘most conservative’ type, an elderly, relatively non-mobile dialect speaker”; my translation) on the one hand, and the “potentiell ‘progressivste’ Typ eines jungen, hoch mobilen Dialektsprechers” (“the potentially ‘most progressive’ type, a young, highly mobile dialect speaker”; my translation) on the other (Lenz et al. 2014: 5). Others compare three generations (e.g., in the above mentioned REDE-project, cf. Ganswindt et al. 2015: 430f.). In the present

project, I will compare three groups²⁰ from two different generations: the two ‘extreme groups’ and additionally a group of young speakers who are relatively non-mobile and work in professions that are not communication-oriented. I hypothesise that the local dialect of young speakers in communication-oriented professions will have more Alemannic features than the dialect of the younger generation in manual professions, because the former group has more contact with tourists.

To summarise, I will survey the following three speaker groups:

speaker group	autochthony	age	profession	regional mobility
“old”	+	above 65	+ manual	– mobile
“young I”	+	20–30	+ manual	– mobile
“young II”	+	20–30	– manual	+ mobile

Table 1 Choice of Informants for the Planned Study

4.3 Data Collection

I will collect data in the following ways, with the aim of eliciting different varieties: a

translation task to elicit the most self-conscious performances of the traditional local dialect, which will reveal how informants think the dialect should ideally be spoken, and a translation task to elicit the most self-conscious performances of the standard variety, which will reveal the informants’ sense of how the standard should ideally be spoken, a conversation among friends to determine the variety or varieties used in informal situations, and an interview with a researcher to determine the variety or varieties used in formal situations. I will also collect demographic data about

the participants. Additionally, I will do a variety of field experiments involving pictures and/or video sequences meant to elicit certain kinds of language production. During the translation tasks and the interview, the researcher will be present; during the conversations among friends the informants are by themselves (cf. Lenz 2003:

²⁰ Lenz (2003: 51) distinguishes three different subgroups within the young generation according to the different profession types.

62 for the necessity of the researcher's absence in this setting).

As described in section 2, Samnaun's people claim not to use their Bavarian local dialect when talking to non-locals, especially not to Alemannic-speaking persons; they claim to use their dialect only when they are by themselves. When analysing the varietal spectrum of Samnaun's population, it, therefore, makes sense to use two researchers with different dialect backgrounds to collect data: one with an Alemannic (Swiss German) dialect and another with a Southern Bavarian dialect. I hypothesise that informants will use one variety with me, an Alemannic speaker (dialect of the Canton of Thurgau, north-eastern Switzerland), and another variety with a researcher from the Bavarian area. The results of Ender & Kaiser (2014) for Vorarlberg and Salzburg suggest this: The informants used different varieties depen-

ding on the interlocutor's²¹ variety on the telephone.²²

The main hypothesis is that speakers will use an Alemannic variety when speaking to me, the Bavarian local dialect when speaking among themselves and an intermediate variety on the dialect-standard-axis with the Bavarian-speaking researcher. This second researcher should, however, not come from the Tyrolean area bordering directly on Samnaun: With persons coming from elsewhere in the Upper Inn valley, where the dialect differences are quite small (cf. Gröger 1924, but also the local Wenker questionnaires), Samnaun's people might still speak their local dialect.²³ In order to detect the effects of dialectal

differences on linguistic production and to find out whether there is an intermediate variety (or even several) on the dialect-standard-axis, the second researcher should speak a clearly different Southern Bavarian dialect (e.g., from the Innsbruck area). In this way, it becomes possible to observe the linguistic reaction of informants to Bavarian-speaking people with a plainly distinct dialect.

This will allow me to elicit the entire range of variation that the informants have at their disposal. I will do the first part of each translation task and the sociolinguistic interview with each participant, and the second researcher will do the second parts. Only one researcher and one informant will be in the same room at the same time. Finally, there will be an interview with the informant and both researchers.²⁴

²¹ In this study, the interlocutors on the telephone were a learner of German as a second language, a speaker from Germany, a speaker from Austria from the Bavarian-speaking dialect region and an Austrian speaker from the Alemannic-speaking dialect region who spoke to the person on the telephone (cf. Ender & Kaiser 2014: 138f.).

²² Jennifer Smith (University of Glasgow, p.c.) interprets the first analyses of her project "One Speaker Two Dialects", carried out currently in north-eastern Scotland with two researchers – a Scottish "insider" and a south-English "outsider" – , in much the same way (thevariationist.com, 29.04.2016).

²³ This kind of setting is already covered by the conversation among friends.

²⁴ When dealing with different varieties, code-switching and/or code-shifting phenomena (cf., e.g., Auer 1999, 2011; Gumperz 1982) can occur. Data from the study, especially from the setting with both researchers and the informant in the same room, will show at least partly to what extent these play a role in the speakers' language use in Samnaun.

collection method	object of collection	method	situation parameter (objective)
"ideal" form of local dialect	intended local dialect	translation	closed-ended questions, guideline for the target variety
conversation among friends	language data in informal conversation situation	free conversation among friends	known conversation partner, familiar occasion, interlocutor's variety is (relatively) far from standard variety, open topic
interview	language data in formal conversation situation	guided interview	unknown conversation partner, interlocutor speaking an Alemannic or Bavarian dialect, predetermined topic, predetermined interview protocol
	social data	guided interview	unknown conversation partner, interlocutor speaking an Alemannic or Bavarian dialect, predetermined topic, predetermined interview protocol
most standard variety	intended standard variety	translation	closed-ended questions, guideline for the target variety

Table 2 Planned Data Collection Units for Gathering the Data, Adapted for this Project According to Lenz (2003: 65)

4.2 Choice of Linguistic Variables

As described above, I will focus not only on phonetic-phonological variables, but rather test different linguistic levels. The focus will be on phonological, morphological, syntactic

and lexical variables which differ between Swiss German (Alemannic) and Tyrolean (Southern Bavarian). In order to get insights into Samnaun's standard variety, I will work with phonetic,²⁵ morphological, syntactical and lexical variables which differ between

²⁵ Mainly the stress of foreign words as, e.g., in: 'Detail (CH) vs. De'tail (A) 'detail', 'Programm (CH) vs. Pro'gramm (A) 'programme'.

Swiss Standard German and Austrian Standard German.

Unlike other Southern Bavarian varieties, the dialects in the Tyrolean area bordering on Samnaun – Oberes Gericht, Paznaun Valley – show some common features with Alemannic varieties (as, e.g., loss of final *-n*, cf. Schatz 1928: 22; diminutive suffix *-le/-ele*, cf. Schatz 1928: 54; maintenance of Middle High German diphthong /ou/ or rather simplification to /o:/, cf. Schatz 1928: 41). Therefore, only variables that are clearly (Southern) Bavarian in Samnaun as well as in bordering Northern Tyrol can be used for this study. The exclusion of unsuitable variables will take place by comparing the existing linguistic data from Samnaun and the bordering Tyrolean municipalities (data from Gröger 1924, Jenal-Ruffner 2009 and from the linguistic atlases VALTS, TSA as well as from the regional Wenker questionnaires for Samnaun, Spiss, Pfunds, Nauders, Galtür and Ischgl, cf. footnote 10).

5. Summary

The present paper has outlined a recently started research project which is dedicated

to the municipality of Samnaun, situated in eastern Switzerland on the border to Austria. In the past, researchers have described Samnaun's dialect as a Southern Bavarian one. Hints about other varieties (an intermediate variety on the dialect-standard-axis and an Alemannic variety) have not resulted in research. This project fills that gap by describing recent linguistic conditions in this Alpine municipality and the result of variety contact between a Southern Bavarian dialect and Alemannic dialects. This paper has discussed the historical linguistic development of Samnaun as well as its geographical and economic context. I have demonstrated the importance of a new empirical study using modern variationist linguistic methods in order to gather data about the whole range of linguistic variation of Samnaun's inhabitants. I have outlined the most important research questions and the project's aims, and I have described the three groups of informants which will allow me to conduct both an apparent-time study, by comparing speakers of the older generation to speakers of a younger generation, and to explore the impact of language contact with non-locals by means of the comparison of a communication-oriented speakers' group and a group of

speakers with manual professions. Different data collection units in combination with language production experiments will enable me to elicit different varieties (or possibly speech levels). The choice of variables will focus on the different linguistic levels and is not limited to phonetic-phonological variables.

The results promise an insight into the outcome of language contact between two German dialects with a different variety structure and the consequences of the resulting variety structure: Southern Bavarian with a dialect-standard-continuum on the one hand and Alemannic with diglossia on the other.

These results are relevant also from a broader perspective: The project deals with language contact phenomena, phenomena of change in language (in the case of transition to an Alemannic variety by the younger generation) as well as language shift phenomena. The project explores the influence of national borders on linguistic developments, the effects of language contact with the linguistic majority on the linguistic minority, as well as the standardising influence of contact with other dialectal varieties induced by the (national) media. Finally, the results will be central to

the discussion about the effects of (changed) mobility on recent linguistic conditions as well as on the language use of numerous language communities which are strongly characterised by this kind of mobility.

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Errata

p. 50 “1921” changed to “1912”